241, 777, 787, 789, 796

[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see category 241, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi); category 243, pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture); category 245, pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

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[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi), pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture), pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

Indian and Arabic concepts were reinterpreted by their bearers, in most cases, before the customs reached the Filipinos. The last two alien cultures to leave their imprint on the Filipinos were Spanish and American, often termed the western Christian strata. 177

Pre-Hispanic traditions and customs are still visible in Caticugan. Contacts with Negros' Negritos appear to have stopped in Siaton during the first part of the 20th century. Few people in Caticugan had ever seen a Negrito. Evidence of a slight Negrito imprint on the barriofolk's way of life exists, however, in the latter's agricultural rites, use of certain plants, and folklore. Yet the barriofolk of Caticugan took very little from the Negritos that remains today; the cultural interchange probably was in the opposite direction, from Filipinos to Negritos, as was typical in most of the Philippines. 174

Drastic reinterpretations of the pre-Hispanic Malaysian cultural base have occurred in Caticugan. However, animism is still a vital force in the community, perpetuating a major Filipino religious concept prior to the Spaniard's arrival. The resistance of the Malaysian stratum to Mohammedanism, Catholicism and Protestanism is remarkable. Few aspects of barrio life escape the influence of animism--hunting and gathering activities, fishing, agricultural practices, attitudes toward disease, and the concept of nature itself. Imitative magic, another Malaysian trait that spread as far west as Madagascar, also exists in Caticugan. 174 774 178 789

When the holes[1] are dug, the posts are laid beside them. Their tops point in a particular direction, depending on the month. Napta states that for January, February and March the posts must face the northeast, for the following three months the southwest, for the next three months to the east and for the last three months toward the northeast. The directions correlate with the southwest and northeast monsoons. This custom is to prevent accidents to the house such as fire or flood. 335 189 777

Some informants said that the tops of the posts should be pointed with the wind. Two dwellings in Caticugan were begun in June and the posts were pointed toward the southwest before they were placed in their holes. Sometimes the post ends are charred to prevent termites from eating the wood after it is in the ground.

Putting heavy posts in their holes appears to be one of the few occasions for a palihog; several palihogs were witnessed in Caticugan for this task. In one case friends and neighbors of one man were invited to help him and his son put posts in holes already dug. Eight men came; when they finished the job, which took about an hour, they ate a meal prepared by the owner. After the meal the men went home but not until some of their wives and children also had come to eat. 335 574 476

There are different ways of erecting bamboo house posts. (See Plate LXIII.)[2] Since bamboo rots quickly in the ground a few barrio houses had bamboo house posts that rested on stone foundations. In one case short 335 342

wooden posts were put in the holes and cut so they fitted inside the larger bamboos that supported the house. In this manner the bamboo posts did not enter the earth. These techniques of preparing bamboo house posts, however, are not widespread since wooden posts are normally used. 335 342

Before the house posts are erected, various items are put in the holes; this practice is followed by nearly all barriofolk. Table XL[1] indicates items placed in the holes and the reasons for so doing. Magahat men chew betel nut and lime and spit red saliva into the post holes: "This procedure is to show respect to the spirits of the place."[21] Spanish coins are considered superior to contemporary Philippine coins, although the latter are used if the former are unavailable. One builder purchased Spanish coins from a neighbor for his post hole ceremony. 335 342 789 777

As in most of these practices to honor or placate the spirits, the combination of items vary but a "core" is accepted by nearly all people. The "stock" items are tilala, kalipay, mik, damolmog, gabigabi, and the pieces of a broken frying pan. It is desirable but not necessary to have an adequate number of each item so one may be put in every post hole. One woman spent an afternoon collecting items for the post hole ceremony; the new house had six posts. She was unable to obtain all items in sixes. The items were dropped into the holes, beginning with the northeast hole, in a counter-clock-wise fashion; the ceremony was done quickly by the woman with no religious

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[21] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 22-3.

1 [See p. 678 cat. 335, 342, 789, or 777 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1964 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA.4

TABLE XI.

ITEMS USED IN POST HOLE CEREMONY
FOR A NEW DWELLING
CATIGUGAN, 1951

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Items	Purposes
1. Small lagit (live) stones from river rapids.	1. To prevent fire; to protect the house from strong winds so the dwelling will not be carried away as the stones are not washed away in the river rapids; to make the house posts last longer; to make occupants happy while living in the house; to make them have a "watery, cold mind," i.e., not quick to anger.
2. Tilala leaves (Cordyline fruticosa A. Chev).	2. So the spirits will not be surprised when they see people living in the new dwelling.
3. Kalipay leaves. (Kalipay means "happiness").	3. So household members will always be happy and courteous when visitors come.
4. Mik (Spanish coins) or Philippine coins; salt is sometimes used as a substitute.	4. To prevent termites from destroying the house posts; so members of the family will not be sickly.
5. Damolmog (a green river moss) and gabigabi, an underwater river plant.	5. So the house will not burn. The connection is that these two plants are always under water.
6. Paliko leaves.	6. So household members will always be happy and contented.
7. Any type of flower.	7. Same purpose as kalipay and paliko.
8. Pieces of a broken frying pan.	8. To make the house strong; to make the occupants of the house live harmoniously, to sleep peacefully in the house.

TABLE XL (Continued)

Items		Purposes
9. Beads from the dumdum necklace. (Dumdum means "to remember.")	9.	So household members, if they move, will never forget their home and return some day.
10. Kaboy leaves	10.	So household members will always be kind to visitors.

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overtones. This is the common practice but no one could explain why the northeast hole was selected or a counter-clock-wise movement appropriate.

Framework Construction

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The accompanying drawing of a barrio dwelling represents a little better type than is typical for Caticugan as a whole. (See Plate LXIV.)[1] Most houses do not have wooden shutters, the porch usually is not as elaborate, and posts normally are wood instead of bamboo. Basically, however, the sketch represents the average Caticugan dwelling. Some houses were more huts than dwellings, raised only a foot from the surface, with one small room. Only one house in the barrio had wooden walls; this dwelling belonged to the most affluent resident of the community.

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After the posts have been placed in their holes, a plumb line is used to get them straight. Then earth is tamped around them so they are firmly fixed. If bamboo posts are used braces, pelepol, (Plate LXIV, 2)[1] may be added to strengthen the uprights. Only two houses in

1 [See p. 680, Cat. 342 -- Analyst]

335 [435]

Caticugan had cement forms to which wooden house posts were bolted by iron straps embedded in the concrete. The cost of cement, made in nearby Cebu Island, was so high in 1951-52 that few families could afford to buy several sacks when building a new house.

After the posts have been installed a temporary bracing (dalamba)--the same term used for fish corral bracing--is lashed to the posts on which barefoot workers stand while building the roof. Once the bracing is finished holes are bored in the upper portions of the posts to insert pegs (tarogos) that support the rafter beams. (See Plates LXV, 30, and LXV-A.)[1]

[342 435]

Rafter beams are normally lashed with rattan. The barriofolk tend to use nails or nuts and bolts to fix the various rafters when wood and not bamboo is used. Rattan, however, is still more popular and cheaper.[22]

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After the pegs are fixed in the posts, the sablayan (Plate LXV, 22) and balabag (Plate LXV, 28)[1] rafter beams are added and lashed in place with rattan. The "heads" or larger ends of the bamboo sablayan and balabag should

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[22] Barriofolk may gather their rattan (oway) in the mountains or buy it. Rattan gathered for house construction, is cut in lengths about 12 feet long. There are many names for different varieties of rattan, usually based upon their use. Manamao, malabagakay, tagalola and malabutong rattan varieties are normally used in house construction. Tagalola is the rattan employed to lash the bamboo floor slats. Palasan and tagsa-on, thicker varieties, are used in making rope, e.g., to tie the goats or carabaos. Abangan, a thick variety, is not suitable for rope-making owing to the deep notches in the stem; it may be used as the anchor rope for bobo. Tagakan is rarely gathered because it is brittle "even when green" according to my informants. Homokan is used to make the woven seats of chairs or beds. Another variety of rattan, tagiti, the narrowest in diameter is used for a variety of purposes.

1 [See p. 682, cat. 335 or 116 -- Analyst]

should point either east or south. The reasons for this custom have been forgotten; some speculated that maybe it was because when one floats bamboo down the river the larger ends point south. If rafters are made of timber instead of bamboo it is impossible to determine the "head" and people ignore the custom. 335 789 777

The next step is to install the sbay-sbay (Plate LXIV, 16) that strengthen the sublayan and balabag; however, if timber is used the sbay-sbay are omitted. The roof framework (pamalay) consists of a number of vertical and horizontal slats to which the nipa shingles (atop) are lashed. First the salamonting (Plate LXV, 27) then the hawak (Plate LXV, 26) and finally the katsaw (Plate LXV, 23) are added to the roof framework. The thickest end of the bamboo salamonting must be at the peak of the roof; otherwise it is believed the occupants will always be sickly. The katsaw should always alternate so the occupants will not suffer from nightmares. The hawak, that run the length of the roof, are tied under those that run the opposite direction; this is done to make it easier to add new nipa shingles. 335 342 [789 777]

Nipa shingles cost from ₱1.25 to ₱1.50 per 100 in Siaton. Nipa swamp owners not only sell shingles in the nearby barrios but also send them to Dumaguete. The Siaton bus often stopped along the road, just outside the poblacion, to pick up large bundles of nipa shingles that the owner was taking to Dumaguete. Some go to a nipa swamp and cut the leaves to make one's own shingles, paying 435 438

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the owner for the material. This is cheaper than buying the shingles ready-made.

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Shingles are made of strips of leaves "sewed" with rattan to a narrow bamboo slat. The leaves are doubled over the bamboo and rattan is interwoven below the stick to keep the leaves in place. Plate LXVI[1] illustrates how the shingles are attached to the roof; a nipa roof lasts from six to seven years. The barriofolk normally replace the rotted nipa shingles by twos and threes rather than reroof the entire dwelling; new shingles are added just before the start of a rainy season.

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When the roof framework is finished the roof is shingled. The first step is to put shingles on the silik (Plate LXIV, 10), the roof ridges. Before the first shingle is placed on the silik, a kapia snail shell and some river moss are placed under the shingle. As one informant explained:

> In putting on shingles I put a kapia and river moss under the first one. In doing this I say to myself: 'I'll put this kapia here as a lihi so during strong winds the roof won't be destroyed. And I am putting moss here so my house will not be destroyed by fire.'

Another informant said kapia shells are used because "they are very hard to pry off the rocks in the river." Some added a few leaves found floating in the river to serve the same purpose as the river moss.

Many barriofolk consider it unwise to cut rattan by biting it when making the first tie in building a dwelling. One Naga informant told me:

1 [See p.685, cat. 342 or 116 -- Analyst]

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In the first tie of the house with rattan one must be careful not to bite the rattan or else the old people say the house will have many kinds of insects. Maybe they are right. The first house I built I happened to bite the rattan the first time I started to tie; there were plenty of mosquitos in this house, especially during the rainy season. In building this house [the informant's dwelling at the time] I was careful not to bite [the rattan] and there are not many insects, especially mosquitos.

The imitative magic principle is apparent; if one "bites" the rattan the completed house will have many insects that will "bite" the occupants. After the silik is finished, shingles are fixed to the remainder of the roof. Then the bamboo bobong (Plate LXIV, 12) are put along the roof ridges and the da-og (Plate LXIV, 19) added; sometimes the bobong is made of tin. The da-og strengthen the roof and prevent shingles from being blown off during a strong wind.

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When the roof is finished, the floor (salag) framework is begun. (See Plate LXVII.)[1] First pegs are inserted to support the floor beams that may be either bamboo or timber. The bangon are installed after the bamboo hanlag (bosa-og if made of wood) have been put in place. The floor is made of bamboo slats one-half an inch wide and one-fourth an inch apart; the slats are smoothed with the bolo and then either nailed or lasted to the liligan. Such a floor makes a dwelling cooler during the hot season and easier to clean than a solid flooring.

The framework for the door and shutters are now made. The door is usually made of woven strips of bamboo with "hinges" of strong rattan, or fixed to slide in

1 [See p.687, cat. 342 or 335 Analyst]

grooves. The shutters (takop or sira) are made normally of nipa or buri palm leaves. In some cases the shutters are wooden. 335 342

A general belief is that it is best for the doorway to face either the east or north; most of the Caticugan dwellings do. However, the barrio chapel has two doors, one facing south and the other west, and a group of houses along the base of the Dangpla bluff doorways facing south. Some of these houses are unfinished; the owners eventually plan to have either an east or north doorway. In the poblacion, with its grid street system, there is no attempt to follow this custom. 335 342 789 777 [77]

Barriofolk state that the old people (gulang) thought it wise to have the doorway face either east or north so one's life will always be "rising like the sun" or because rain usually comes from the southwest or west. If the doorway opens to the south or west the occupants of the house will be sickly, not alert during their sleeping hours, or their lives "always setting like the sun does in the west." One informant, whose statement was not backed by the majority of the people, said it was necessary to have the door facing the east or north for otherwise when entering the house "one will go against the 'heads' of the sablayan and balabag."[23]

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[23] Oracion states: "Most houses in the coastal barrios and towns...are constructed so that the main door and stairs face east. This is believed to bring prosperity to the occupants. If the main door entrance faces west, it is believed that the occupants will get sick and may die." Oracion, op. cit., p. 25.

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three consecutive nights. If this is not done the occupants will be plagued with misfortune and illness.

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Some house posts have white crosses painted on them as protection against harmful spirits. A few houses had placed under the entrance ladder a small cross made of a thorny wood (salay). The barriofolk explain that this custom of painting or putting crosses on or near their homes originated shortly before the last war. Tales of a "headless" nun who brought typhoid came to southern Negros from Cebu. This supernatural nun was said to visit a dwelling and call out, "Good evening." If any occupants answered her before the greeting was repeated three times one of the family became ill of typhoid and died. To protect themselves the people started to paint crosses on the posts or to erect one near the house entrance. Houses so "protected" were avoided by the "headless" nun who also did not trouble people with the family name of Cruz (cross).

When these tales reached southern Negros some people in Siaton were said to have built crosses as thick as a man's leg. Even today some people will not answer a "good evening" greeting from a visitor outside their house until it is repeated three times. There is a parallel here with the Spanish custom that once required Filipinos to introduce themselves three times to Spaniards before they were recognized.

[77]

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Preparation of the Clay and Moulding the Pots

The pot is shaped by hand with the use of wooden paddles, flat stones, and seashells; the potter's wheel is not used.[4] A grey-colored sandy clay is obtained in nearby hills by the potter of Datag. Originally she gave the owner of the land where she obtained her clay one pot for each batch of earth. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory so she now obtains clay from the field of a relative. After the clay is dug, a rag is tied in a simple knot and left near the pit. This is a precaution against "envious persons" who might utter disparaging words while passing the location, making the dug clay unsuitable for pottery. She told me that "Sometimes these 'envious people' put egg shells or even seashells inside the hole where I dig my clay, mixing them with the clay. Pots made with this clay will explode or crack when burned."[5]

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A supply of clay is brought back to the potter's house where she dampens it and removes any small pebbles

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[4] The potter's wheel is used in other regions of the Philippines. "A Pot Is Made." Manila, This Week: Sunday Magazine of the Manila Chronicle, VII, No. 27 (July 6, 1952), pp. 13-4, contains a series of pictures of pot making in La Union, an Ilocano province. The article states either a hand or foot rotated potter's wheel is used and that one woman can make a dollar's worth of pots a day.

[5] In describing the making of clay pots in Masbate Island, Solheim writes: "The old folks used to leave a little money (sanag--protection money) where they got the clay and a piece of red cloth so that the resulting pots would not crack when used for cooking. The informant ..thought that if these gifts were not left, the spirits of the clay pots would be angry and cause the pots to break." Wilhelm G. Solheim, III, "Pottery Manufacturing in the Islands of

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Then the pounded thread is sorted for size, a process called tog-ot.[13] One of the first tasks taught a young girl learning to weave is to sort thread. Five different sizes of thread based on its thickness as determined by the weaver's sight and touch are sorted. These five classes of thread are, from the thickest to the thinnest, respectively: dagku; halan-ayon; okyot; katung-an; and magamayn. Halan-ayon is the most plentiful in the abaca hanks (gatang) purchased by weavers.

286. [868]

Bonos: Tieing

The second step, bonos, is tying the various thread sizes into one continuous thread, e.g., all dagku threads are tied together.[14] A weaver's knot (dogkong) is used to joint the individual threads. (See Plate LXXIII below.)

PLATE LXXIII

DOGKONG KNOT

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[13] In Bacong, Negros Oriental, tog-ot is begun at high tide, the belief being that this will increase the number of the fibers. Timoteo S. Oracion and Avelino T. Torres, "Some Notes on the Weaving of Abaca Cloth in Bacong, Negros Oriental, Philippines." Dumaguete, Silliman University, Negros Oriental, Philippines, 1953, p. 4. Typescript.

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[14] In Bacong bonos is done at high tide. Kapingan shells and homemade wooden combs are placed in kalalay baskets to increase the length of abaca fibers. It may be that the purpose of the combs is to prevent the fibers from tangling. Ibid., p. 5.

Loose ends of the dogkong (A and B in Plate LXXIII) are cut after the knot is pulled together. As threads of one size are tied in long strands (linakgak) they are loosely coiled in kalalaw baskets. If the joined strands of threads are not used immediately for weaving, they are made into individual skeins, bito-ol, composed of one class of thread. The skeins are carefully wrapped and often hung in the rafters to protect them from damage by rats. 286

Han-ay: Hand Warping

The third step in preparing the loom is reeling the warp to be placed between the beam and cloth roller, a process called han-ay. The next to thickest size thread, halsn-ayon, is used to weave most abaca cloth made in Caticugan; this size is the most plentiful in the hanks. If halsn-ayon thread is used for the warp, the weft thread is dagku, since the two threads are about the same thickness. When okyot thread is used for the warp, the same class of thread is used for the weft--which is also the case for the other sizes of threads. The reason for these choices is that the approximately same size threads for warp and weft makes a better-appearing fabric, according to the weavers, than would mixing of a large size thread (dagku) with a much smaller size (magamaya).

Coiled piles of thread are taken from their kalalaw baskets and placed in individual piles on a mat on the floor of the house. A pinch of earth from the mound of the anay (termite), a busikad flower, or a kapinan 286 789

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seashell, is put under one coiled pile of thread. The purpose of these items is "to increase the thread"--a reflection of the increase magic of agricultural practices, previously discussed.[15] For example, the literal translation of kapinan is "more than." Small stones or sand are placed on top of each coiled pile of thread to prevent them from tangling as they are hand warped between two opposite poles inside the house.

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Coils of thread (linakgak) are placed on the mat in two rows. There are usually four, eight, or ten coils of thread, each coil being paired with another. If ten coils of thread are used, they are arranged in two rows, e.g.:

6 7 8 9 10

1 2 3 4 5

Spreads from coils 1-6 are drawn through a small bamboo hoop suspended above the piles of thread; threads from coils 2-7, 3-8, 4-9, 5-10, are pulled through their respective hoops, tied together, and reeled between two posts (usually house posts) at opposite ends of the room. Each post has five or six pegs arranged from top to bottom around which the threads are reeled.

The first pair of threads (i.e., 1-6) is held between the small finger and ring finger of the left hand, the second pair (2-7) between the ring finger and middle

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[15] In Bacong coconut shell charcoal, kapinan shell, and busikad grass are used. "The charcoal and grass are believed to prevent rats from gnawing the fibers." Ibid., p. 6. It might be added that busikad grass has a pungent odor.

the framework of the reed spacer. Once through the batten, threads are tied in pairs to the pablon. When all warp threads are fixed to the pablon, the stick is inserted in a groove of the cloth roller. A dried strip of banana stalk or bandan plant (Donax cannaiformis (Forest. f.) K. Schum.) is woven through the warp threads; the purpose is to make the threads nearest the cloth roller's pablon strong and firm. Now the warp, that varies from 34 to 41 inches in width, is ready for weaving.

A number of beliefs are associated with weaving abaca in Catiougan. When the warp thread is first installed on the beam roller, some weavers rub the roller with lime or ginger so "insects will not damage the threads." A piece of cotton dampened with coconut oil or a strand of hair from the weaver's head may also be placed on this roller "so the warp threads will not break easily." Some weavers put a piece of coconut-oil dampened cotton and a spider's web in the shed the first time the shuttle is pushed across the warp. The purpose of coconut oil is the same as above whereas the spider's web is inserted "because the spider starts its web one day and the next morning is finished"; others state the web is used so the woven abaca will be as smooth as the web's texture and not tear easily. Another practice is to weave into the right hand corner of the beginning of the fabric a piece of cotton and a small chicken feather soaked in

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coconut oil. The oil is said to make the abaca fabric appear shiny and the cotton and feather prevent threads from breaking frequently.[16]

The Shuttle

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The spool shuttle (lansarida) is carved from a solid piece of boat-shaped wood twelve to fourteen inches in length, about two inches in width and one inch in height. (See Plate LXXV.) A slot is carved in the shuttle's interior where the bobbin (kalanyasan) is placed. (See Plate LXXV.) The weft (kinalinyas) thread is wound around the bobbin, the latter being a piece of bamboo that revolves on small pegs in the shuttle slot. Weft thread is wound around the bobbin by a type of spinning wheel (galingan) and emerges from a small hole in the shuttle's side. Bobbins wound with weft thread may be soaked in a coconut shell of water before used; this makes the weft thread more elastic and less apt to break. The shuttle's movement across the shed is facilitated by two pairs of small bamboo rollers on its bottom.

To wind the weft thread on the hollow bobbin the latter is placed on the sambolan and the cloth-covered spinning wheel turned by hand, rotating the sambolan. (See Plate LXXV.) The size of galangana measured in Caticugan varied but usually they are about 20-28 inches long and 16-20 inches high.

16"During the weaving a few human hairs, wet in oil, are interlaced in the first weave. Their belief is that this makes the fibers strong and smooth like human hair." Ibid., p. 7.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OAl Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

796 121 123 presents preliminary notes on the rural fiesta complex as observed in Negros Oriental province during 1950-52. The information on the fiesta was obtained through participant observation, interviewing of informants, a careful analysis of scores of printed fiesta programs, and other published materials.

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796 177 The fiesta complex was brought to the Philippines by the Spanish conquerors of the archipelago in the 16th century. All fiestas originally corresponded to church feasts listed on the Catholic calendar " . . . and were, whatever they have now turned out to be, originally intended solely to do honor to the patron saints of the towns of King Philip's Catholic colony."[3] During the following centuries the fiesta was reinterpreted by the Filipinos. The event came to fill a sociocultural void created by the priests' suppression of ancient pagan ceremonies, to increase the religious education of the *tao* and the church's position among the people, and whether it was an original purpose or not, soon became a profitable financial venture for the Church.

771 Most rural Filipinos regard their patron saint as the "guardian" of their *barrio* or *poblacion*, watching over their health, households and general welfare. The patron saint is normally in the background of community affairs in the *barrios*, if less so in the *poblacions*, except during the fiesta period, when the *poblacions* also render special homage to their [789] saint. In periods of crises, crop failures, lack of rain, epidemics, etc., the patron saint may be turned to for aid, particularly by the barrio folk. During the writer's residence in Siaton, the people of Caticugan carried their patron saint (San Isidro) around the barrio, singing and praying, in hope of producing a badly needed rain for their parched crops. Ordinarily, however, the patron saint does not have such an important place in the daily routine of the people as during the annual fiesta. Yet, for many of the Filipinos, the mere fact that a patron saint exists must give them a diffused feeling of security.

796 This article cannot fully explore the modifications made by Filipinos on the original fiesta complex of the Spaniards. However, certain obvious and important reinterpretations will be pointed out.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In a survey of the fiestas of Negros Island the four frequently selected patron saints were: (1) San Isidro de Labrador; (2) Santo Niño; (3) San Jose; and (4) Sta. Cruz. San Isidro is the patron saint of farmers, a fact which probably explains, in part, his popularity. Male saints are, by far, the most popular, probably because there are more male than female saints in the Catholic faith.